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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.













## THE VIRGINIA ADDRESS.

A Convention of Delegates, appointed by Public Meetings in the several Counties of the Commonwealth of Virginia, for the purpose of adopting measures to prevent the election of GENERAL JACKSON to the Presidency, assembled, to the number of 220, in the Capitol, in the city of Richmond, on Tuesday the 8th of January. The Convention, being organized, proceeded to the discharge of the interesting duty for which it had assembled, and continued to sit, from day to day, deliberating on, and maturing, the requisite measures, until Saturday, the 12th, when the Committee appointed to prepare an Address, (comprising several of the ablest and most eminent men in the State,) reported the following ADDRESS and Resolutions, which, having been read through, were unanimously adopted, as follows :

### TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

HAVING been delegated, by those who oppose the election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, and having assembled in the City of Richmond, pursuant to our appointment, and formed an Electoral Ticket, we feel it due to ourselves, to those who deputed us, and to our country, to submit a brief exposition of our views on the very interesting subject which has brought us together.

It is no ordinary occasion, which, at this inclement season of the year, has brought so many of us from our business and our homes. We believed that the dearest interests of our country were at stake ; that her character, her peace and happiness, and even the permanence of her free institutions, were in peril. We feared the most pernicious consequences from the election of General Jackson, and we have come to consult about the means of averting this calamity from our country. We believe that the only means of effecting this great object is the re-election of the present Chief Magistrate, and have formed an Electoral Ticket for that purpose, which we earnestly recommend to the support of the People of Virginia.

We know that many of you strongly disapprove some of the leading measures of the present Administration,—have not confidence in it, and would be exceedingly unwilling to sanction the principles of construction applied by the present Chief Magistrate to the Constitution of the United States. But we do not perceive, in these circumstances, any sufficient reason for withholding your support from the ticket we have recommended. We ourselves are not agreed upon these subjects. While some disapprove these measures, want confidence in the Administration, and are unwilling to sanction the principles of construction adopted by the President,—most of us approve the general course of the Administration, have confidence in its virtue, its patriotism, its wisdom, and see nothing to condemn in the President's interpretation of the Federal Constitution. Yet we do not discuss among ourselves, and we will not discuss before you, the grounds of this difference. We waive such discussion, as wholly inappropriate, and postpone it to the time when there may be some choice offered us, that might be influenced by it. Now there is none such. We are left to the alternative of choosing between Jackson and Adams ; and however we may differ in opinion as to the merits of the latter, we heartily concur in giving him a decided preference over his competitor. The measures which some disapprove in the present Administration, none would hope to see amended under that of General Jackson : the distrust in the present Chief Magistrate, entertained by some, is lost in the comparison with that which all feel in his competitor ; and the Constitution, which we would preserve from the too liberal interpretation of Mr. Adams, we would yet more zealously defend against the destroying hand of his rival.

While, however, we decline a discussion of those subjects, on which we differ in opinion, and premit any general vindication of the Chief Magistrate, his Cabinet, or his measures, we cannot pass unnoticed some topics connected with the last election, and some acts of the Administration, in relation to which, we think, the public mind has been greatly abused.

The friends of General Jackson have confidently held him up, as the favorite of the People—have insisted that, in the last election, his plurality of votes proved him to be the choice of the nation—and have bitterly complained, that *that* choice was improperly disappointed by the Representatives in Congress.

Never was there a more direct appeal to those prejudices and passions, which, on all occasions, the good should disdain, and the wise should repress; never was a complaint more utterly ungrounded; and never one more characteristic of that disregard for the Constitution, which has been manifested on more occasions than one, when its provisions stood in the way of General Jackson's march.

Whether General Jackson is the People's favorite, is to be tested by the event, not assumed as the basis of the pending election. That his plurality of votes proved him to be the choice of the nation at the last election, we confidently deny. It may, perhaps, be found, upon examination, that, while General Jackson had a plurality of electoral votes, Mr. Adams had a plurality of votes at the polls; and we are confident, that if Mr. Crawford and Mr. Clay had been withdrawn from the canvass, and the contest had been single-handed between General Jackson and Mr. Adams, the election would have resulted as it has done, in the choice of Mr. Adams.

But this is not the light in which this question deserves consideration. The minds of the People ought not to be influenced by such extraneous considerations; and above all, the principles of our Constitution ought not to be abused, by admitting, for a moment, that the plurality of votes given to General Jackson, should have governed the choice of the House of Representatives. We do not mean to say, that a proper respect for the wishes of the nation, fairly ascertained, ought not always to be observed by its Representatives. But we do say, that the present Chief Magistrate holds his seat by the will of the People of the United States, regularly expressed, in the only way in which an expression of that will has any authority. They have willed, in the most solemn form—in the form of a Constitution, which they declare shall be the supreme law of the land—that a plurality of votes shall not constitute an election; that, when there is such plurality, the Representatives shall elect, voting by States—thus withdrawing from the People that equality of influence which is given them in the first vote, and transferring it to the States in the second. This provision of our Constitution is in the true spirit which pervades the whole of it, and which marks it the result of a conference between States, surrendering in part, and retaining in part, their political equality. Shall this spirit be appealed from, on every occasion in which it was intended to soothe and conciliate, and the spirit of faction be invoked, to expose our magistrates to unjust prejudice, and bring our institutions into discredit? These things are revolutionary in their tendency, and ought to be discouraged.

Of like character is the complaint against the Kentucky delegation, for disregarding the instructions of their Legislature. We have too much respect for the Legislature of Kentucky to suppose that they meant to bind the delegation by an instruction. We can only suppose that they meant to furnish the best information in their power, of the opinions of the People on a question which had never been submitted to them. Such information was entitled to the respect due to intelligent opinion, and no more. It was not the constitutional organ through which the will of the People was to be conveyed to the Representative. The Representatives in Congress were directly responsible to their Constituents, not to the Legislature. And an attempt of the Legislature to control the immediate Representatives of the People, would be a usurpation upon the rights of the People—an act, which, instead of deserving obedience, or even respect, required resistance and even reprobation. The faithful Representative will obey the instructions of his constituents whenever constitutionally given. He will pay a respectful attention to their wishes, and every evidence of their wishes. But, when not bound by instruction, he will look beyond the imperfect evidences of their will, informally conveyed; he will rest upon the conclusions of his own mind, formed from the best lights he can obtain; will consult his country's good, and firmly meet the responsibility of those acts, he deems proper for its attainment. This we believe the Kentucky delegation did. They were not instructed—they did not choose to shelter themselves from responsibility, under the cover of a legislative recommendation; consulting their own judgments, they preferred the man thought most capable of advancing the interest of his country; and there is no question, that Virginia then concurred in the opinion, and approved the act.

This vote, which, if honestly given, is an affair chiefly between the Representative and his Constituents, would not have been obtruded on your attention, had it not been connected with a charge of grave import, made upon the purity of the election, impeaching the integrity of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation, and the first member of his Cabinet. This charge, in its strongest form, imports that, at the last election, the



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 vote of the Kentucky delegation was in the market, for the highest bidder; that it was offered to one candidate, and, being refused by him, was sold to the other; and that the consideration of the vote, was the office of Secretary of State, bestowed on Mr. Clay. If this were true, we should not hesitate to affirm, that it stamps infamy on the characters of the guilty, and renders them forever unworthy of public trust.

This charge, not so strongly, however, as has been here stated, was made, for the first time, pending the Presidential election. It was promptly met, and challenged by Mr. Clay, and deserted by its supporters. They rallied again, after the election, gave it a form somewhat varied, drew to its aid some imposing circumstances, and, at last, gave it the public sanction of Gen. Jackson's name. Mr. Clay again publicly denied it, called for the proof, and challenged inquiry. No proof has appeared to sustain it, no inquiry has been instituted, and now, in all its phases, it stands reprobated, by a body of proof, so strong and so convincing, as to require, from the least charitable, its open disavowal, and, from the most suspicious, a candid acknowledgment, that they have done injustice in even thinking it probable.

It may not be unworthy of notice, as one of the means by which the public mind has been prejudiced and inflamed, that opinions, the most offensive to a Republican People, have been unwarrantably and uncandidly inferred from some of the President's communications to Congress, and gravely imputed to him, as doctrines in his political creed. He has, on one occasion, not perhaps with strict rhetorical propriety, used the expression, "palsied by the will of our constituents"—in reference to duties enjoined by the Constitution.

This phrase has been torn from its context, misinterpreted, and used as the authority upon which the President is charged with the heresy, that a Representative owes no obligation to the will of his constituents. On another occasion, incautiously taking it for granted that every one would understand that the high obligation of an oath was derived from Heaven, he has again, perhaps, without much felicity of phrase, made an obvious, though not avowed reference to his oath of office, as imposing an obligation above all human law—and this reference is tortured into a public avowal of the odious doctrine, that his political power was *jure divino*. If these had been the taunts and the railing of anonymous newspaper scribblers, they would have been deemed unworthy of this public notice. But when such charges are seriously made and reiterated, by men holding high stations in the Government, and exercising some influence over public opinion, they cannot be too strongly condemned.

Mr. Adams, it is said, is friendly to a regulation of the tariff of duties, with a view to the encouragement of American manufactures, and this is clamorously urged against him, as a serious objection, by those who support the election of Gen. Jackson.

This objection seems to have been treated, before the public, as if Mr. Adams were the founder of a new and odious doctrine, and the father of the measures to which it had given birth. Nothing can be further from the truth. Not a single act of the Government, on this subject, has its date within his administration. And so far is he from being the founder of the doctrine, that it is traced to the earliest and purest times of the Republic, avowed and acted upon from the foundation of the Government, when the Father of his Country presided over its destinies. Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the power of regulating commerce, and imposing duties on imports, belonged to the State Governments; and such of them, as deemed it expedient, so regulated their tariff of duties as to give encouragement to their manufactures. The Constitution transferred to the Federal Government, by express provision, the power of regulating commerce, and of imposing duties. An act, passed at the first session of the first Congress, held under the Constitution, advocated by James Madison, and signed by George Washington, on the 20th of July, 1789, contains the first tariff of duties on imported goods laid by the General Government, and its preamble recites, that it was "necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This doctrine was acted upon, by every succeeding Administration, by the elder Adams, by Jefferson, by Madison, and Monroe. The policy of protecting and encouraging manufactures was recommended by them all; the tariff was increased from time to time, with a view to that object; and yet, no champion of the Constitution, though many and bold and able there were, always at their posts, ever challenged the authors of these measures, as invaders of constitutional ground; until, during the administration of the last President, when the fathers of the Constitution, having most of them retired from the field of action, a member from Virginia suggested, in Congress, the want of constitutional power to give protection to manufactures.

On this question we forbear to enter the field of argument; and content ourselves with saying, that the power of Congress to regulate the tariff of duties, so as to give

protection and encouragement to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, cannot be denied, without denying to the letter of the Constitution its plain import, and to its spirit its most obvious and essential attributes; without affirming that those who have administered the Government, from its foundation to the present day, have either misunderstood the charter of their powers, or wantonly and habitually violated it; without coming to the extraordinary conclusion, either that a power which existed in the State Governments, and was frequently exercised by them, before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, was annihilated by the secret and magical influence of that instrument, or that such power does not properly pertain to the Legislature of any free People.

The exercise of this power is necessarily referred to the sound discretion of Congress, to be justly and impartially employed for the common benefit of all—not to be perverted to the purpose of advancing the interest of one class of the community, or of one part of the country, at the expense of another; and, whatever some of us may think as to its abuses under a former administration, or of the danger of such abuses under the present, all must concur in the opinion, that the remedy is not to be found in the election of General Jackson; but, if sought at all, should be looked for in the vigilance and exertions of faithful and able Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The opinions of Mr. Adams, and his recommendations to Congress, in relation to internal improvement, are unpopular in Virginia, and have been urged against him with much earnestness, and perhaps with some effect, even though it cannot, with any color of reason, be contended, that his competitor, Gen. Jackson, is not exposed to precisely the same objection. We do not vindicate these opinions, or discuss them, because they fall within the interdict we have imposed on ourselves—we differ in opinion concerning them. But we will remind you, that these opinions, whatever may be their merit, have produced but few and unimportant acts, during the present Administration: and we will avail ourselves of the occasion to appeal to the good sense and good feeling of Virginia, and invoke its influence in tempering the asperity of party politics, and in securing to every subject of national interest, a deliberate and candid consideration. We beg leave also to remind them, that the questions of Constitutional law, and State policy, connected with this subject, are important, delicate, and of acknowledged difficulty; that there are arrayed on either side of them, Statesmen of approved patriotism and talent, whose opinions should be examined with great consideration, and whose measures, if deemed wrong, after being judged with candor, should be opposed with reason, not with passion—with firmness, not with violence;—that those among us, who deny the Constitutional power, and condemn the policy, should entitle our doctrines to respect, by the fairness of our views, and the force of our reasoning, and give weight to our opposition, by its temper and its dignity; while those who affirm the power, and approve the policy, should observe the most respectful deference for the opinions of the many and the wise, who differ from them; should consult the public interest and tranquillity, by confining their measures to objects of acknowledged and general interest, by infusing into them a spirit of the most exact justice; and by observing, in all things, scrupulous care in the exercise of a power so delicate, and so much controverted.

Thus far, we have endeavored to correct error and disarm prejudice, that reason might be left free to estimate fairly the present Administration, and its principal measures. We have offered no panegyric on the present Chief Magistrate;—we cheerfully leave you to estimate the value of his long and varied public services, his great experience, his talent, his learning, and his private virtues,—and to set off against them, whatever your fancy or your judgment may find to blame, in his private or public life. When you have done this—reflect on the character of the office you are about to fill—inquire what feelings, what temper, what talent, what acquirements, what habits, are best suited to the discharge of its high duties; and then carefully compare John Q. Adams with Andrew Jackson, in reference to the great question, Which of them is best qualified for the first office in the nation—which most likely to preserve to us the distinguished blessings we enjoy—from which is most danger to be apprehended to our peace and happiness, our lives and liberties?

It is not in wantonness that we speak; but, in the sadness of our hearts, we are compelled to declare, that, while we yield our confidence to the present Chief Magistrate in very different degrees, we are unanimous and unhesitating in the opinion that Andrew Jackson is altogether unfit for the Presidency, and that his election would be eminently dangerous; that, while we cheerfully accord to him his full share of the glory which renders the anniversary of the 8th of January a day of joy and triumph to our land, we must, in the most solemn manner, protest against a claim to civil rule, founded exclusively upon military renown; and avow that nothing has occurred in the



history of our country so much calculated to shake our confidence in the capacity of the People for self-government, as the efforts which have been made, and are yet making, to elevate to the first office in the nation, the man, who, disobeying the orders of his superiors, trampling on the Laws and Constitution of his country, sacrificing the liberties and lives of men, has made his own arbitrary will the rule of his conduct.

In stating an opinion so unfavorable to a distinguished man, who has rendered valuable services to his country, a proper respect for ourselves and for you, requires that we should declare the reasons which compel us to withhold our confidence from him.

Capacity for civil affairs, in a country like ours, where the road to preferment is open to merit, in every class of society, is never long concealed, and seldom left in retirement. General Jackson has lived beyond the age of 60 years, and was bred to the profession best calculated to improve and display the faculties which civil employments require; but the history of his public life, in these employments, is told in a few brief lines—on a single page of his biography. He filled, successively, for very short periods, the office of Member of the Tennessee Convention, which formed their State Constitution; Representative and Senator in Congress; Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee; and again, Senator in Congress of the United States. Here was ample opportunity for distinction, if he possessed the talent, taste, and application, suited for civil eminence. But he resigned three, and passed through all of these stations, acknowledging his unfitness in two instances—manifestly feeling it in all—and leaving no single act, no trace, behind, which stamps his qualifications above mediocrity.

For civil government—and in no station more emphatically than in that of President of the United States—a well-governed temper is of admitted importance. General Jackson's friends lament the impetuosity of his, and all the world has evidence of its fiery misrule.

To maintain peace and harmony in the delicate relations existing between the Government of the Union and the various State Governments in our Confederacy, requires a courtesy and forbearance in their intercourse, which no passion should disturb. Let the spirit of domination displayed in General Jackson's celebrated letter to Governor Rabun, warn us of the danger of committing to his keeping this precious deposit—sacred to the union of our Republics, and to the freedom of mankind.

Military men should never be allowed to forget, that the obligation to obey being the sole foundation of the authority to command, they should inculcate subordination, not by precept only, but by example; that profound respect for the Laws and Constitution of their country, is an indispensable guarantee of their worthiness to be entrusted with the sword which is drawn to defend them; that they should lose no fit occasion for manifesting that respect, by practical illustrations of the principle, sacred in every well ordered Republic, which proclaims the military subordinate to the civil power; that mercy even to the guilty, and humanity always to the conquered and the captive, are part of the law of God and man, found in every civilized code, written in every human heart, and indispensable to the true glory of the Hero.

General Jackson has been unmindful of these truths. Though he has enjoined subordination by precept, and enforced it by authority, he has not recommended it by example. He has offered indignity to the Secretary of War, in the very letter which assigned his reasons for disobeying an order to disband his troops; he has placed his own authority in opposition to that of the War Department, by a general order, forbidding the officers of his command to obey the orders of that Department, unless they passed through the channel which he had chosen to prescribe; and he disobeyed the orders of the Government in his military operations in the Spanish territory.

He has been unmindful of the subordination of military to civil power, and has violated the law and the Constitution, by declaring martial law at New Orleans, and maintaining it, of his own arbitrary will, for more than two months after the enemy had been beaten and repulsed, and all reasonable apprehension of their return had ceased; by surrounding the hall of the Louisiana Legislature with an armed force, and suspending their deliberations; by seizing the person of Louaillier, a free citizen of Louisiana, and member of their Legislature, and bringing him to trial before a military tribunal, for having the boldness to denounce, through the public press, the continued arbitrary reign of martial law; by disapproving the acquittal of Louaillier upon his trial, when, to have condemned and executed him, would have exposed the actors in the fatal tragedy to the legal pains of death; by suspending, of his own arbitrary will, the writ of *habeas corpus*, when the Legislature of Louisiana had refused to suspend it on his application, when no law of Congress authorized it, and no imminent danger pleaded its apology; by arresting and imprisoning Judge Hall for issuing the writ of *habeas corpus* to relieve Louaillier from illegal confinement, and arresting and imprisoning two other officers of the law, for appealing to civil process against his tyrannic

rule ; by the arrest, trial, and execution, of six militia men, who were guilty of no other offence than the assertion of their lawful right to return home, after their legal term of service had expired ; by organizing a corps of volunteer militia, and appointing its officers, without any warrant for so doing, and against the provisions of the Constitution, which expressly reserve the appointment of the officers of the militia to the States respectively ; and by making war upon the Spanish Territory, seizing and holding Spanish posts, in violation of the order of his Government, and whilst peace existed between Spain and the United States.

That mercy and humanity may unite with the offended Law and Constitution, in accusing General Jackson of being unmindful of their voice, and in refusing to his laurel crown the rays of true glory, will be acknowledged by impartial posterity, when they review the history of his Indian campaigns, and especially when they read the stories of the cold-blooded massacre at the Horseshoe ; of the decoyed and slaughtered Indians at St. Mark's ; of the wanton and unexampled execution of Ambrister, an Englishman, found fighting, it is true, in the ranks of the Seminoles, but taken prisoner, tried, doomed to a milder punishment, and executed by order of the commanding General, against the sentence of the tribunal appointed by himself ; and of the still more injured Arbuthnot, another Briton, not bearing arms at all, only found among the warring Indians, a trader, and an advocate for peace.

We have done with this sickening catalogue. You have now a brief summary of the evidence, on the authority of which we regard General Jackson as wholly disqualified for the Presidency, and look to the prospect of his election with the most gloomy forebodings.

You think, perhaps, we pay a poor compliment to the virtues of our People, and the strength of our institutions, by indulging in apprehensions of danger from the encroachments of military power, in the youth and vigor of our Republic, and in the midst of profound peace. We should, indeed, do great injustice to the virtue of our People, the circumstances of our country, and the value of our Government, if we indulged in the idle fear, that an open attack upon our liberties, made with any military force, which General J. could probably command in the course of his administration, would bring us under the yoke of his power. These are not our apprehensions ; we would bid a proud defiance to his power, if he should so dare our liberties. Nor will we do him the injustice to charge his ambition with any designs, at present, on the liberties of his country, or withhold our acknowledgment, that, if they were assailed by others, we believe he would promptly and boldly draw his sword to defend them.

But we have no security for the continuance of peace, in whatsoever hands the Government may be placed ; and it is not unreasonable to think, that, in the hands of a man of military pride and talent, and of ungovernable temper, the danger of war will be increased. A foreign war may come, may rage with violence, and find General Jackson at the head of the civil government, and commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces. Dissident views among the States may arise, controversies grow up between the State and Federal authorities, as dissensions and controversies have heretofore arisen ; and who, then, we pray you, can answer for the consequences of that spirit which said to Governor Rabun, *When I am in the field, you have no authority to issue a military order ?* Reflect on this question, we beseech you—on the peculiar structure of our Government ; on the collisions of opinion, and the threatened collisions of action, both in peace and war, which have already occurred between the State and Federal authorities—and then tell us, whether the fear is altogether visionary, that the first foreign war, seriously waged against the United States, with General Jackson their chief, would bring danger of civil discord, dissolution of the Union, and death to the hopes of every free government in the world.

We say nothing of the danger of civil discord, even when no foreign war should afflict us—though the retrospect of a few short years would teach us that such danger is not imaginary—and that the slightest want of tact, in its management, the least indulgence of temper, on the part of the Chief Magistrate, might inflame the whole nation, and light the funeral pile of freedom.

There are dangers of another kind. If we are correct in the detail of offences committed by General Jackson, against the most sacred principles of our Government, what will be the moral effect of the direct sanction given to these offences, by rewarding the offender with the first honor of the nation ? Can we preserve our love and reverence for institutions which we suffer to be violated, not only without censure, but with applause ? Will not our affections and our veneration be transferred from the despised Laws and Constitution, to the honored Hero who has abused them—from republican simplicity and virtue, to military pomp and glory ? Will you not, in fine, by such example, lay the sure foundation of that moral depravity, and admiration of arms,



which must soon reduce us to the condition in which Greece was enslaved by Alexander ; Rome, by Caesar ; England, by Cromwell ; France, by Bonaparte ; and in which we will assuredly find some future Jackson, not too fastidious to accept the proffered crown, and erect a military despotism on the ruins of the last Republic?

We appeal to the People of Virginia, to say what there is in the present party politics, so alluring on the part of the Opposition, so frightful on the part of the Administration, as to seduce them to the fraternal embrace, or drive them under the protection, of such a man as Andrew Jackson ? We ask an answer to this question, not from their offended pride, nor from the prejudice which attachment to party never fails to beget ; but we ask it from their love of country, their love of truth and virtue ; we ask it, after a deep and dispassionate consideration of the true state of the question ; after a candid estimate of the little to be possibly gained by the rejection of Mr. Adams, the incalculable mischiefs which may probably attend the success of his rival. If you indulge the faint hope, that, under the Administration of General Jackson, the tribute which agriculture will pay for the encouragement of domestic industry and enterprise, will be somewhat lighter than at present—we ask you, first, whether the hope is not groundless ? and next, whether it is wise to insist on enjoying the profits of your estates in the uttermost farthing of their fancied value, at the risk of having your free allodial lands converted into military tenures or fiefs of the crown ? If you are fighting the battles of General Jackson, in this political contest, with the vain hope that victory will conquer from your adversaries some barren spot of constitutional ground—we ask whether you will wage such a war with your countrymen, at the hazard of laying all your conquests, and all your former possessions—the Constitution itself, and the freedom it was intended to protect—at the feet of a despot ? This does not become the character of Virginians !

In the ancient state of political parties, when federalists and republicans contended for ascendancy, there was something in the great questions of foreign policy, in the leading principles of construction applied to the Constitution, bearing strongly on the essential character of the Government, and worthy of a generous struggle between the statesmen, who, on the one hand, sought to guard against a dissolution of the Union, by strengthening the Federal bond, and, on the other, endeavored to avert consolidation, by establishing more firmly the State authorities. But this state of things has passed away, and the feelings and doctrines to which it gave rise, though not entirely forgotten, are almost unknown in the party distinctions of the day. Federalists and republicans mingle together in the ranks of the Opposition—and, together, rally around the standard of the Administration. There will be no great principle of political doctrine to distinguish them, unless the Opposition, following too closely the footsteps of those who trample on the Laws and Constitution of the country, should give to the supporters of the Administration some claim to be the champions of civil rule and constitutional law. Shall our parties be hereafter founded on local interests, and marked by geographical boundaries, arraying the North against the South, the East against the West—losing the generous enthusiasm which is always inspired by a contest for principle, for honorable distinction, for pre-eminence in the service of our common country ; and acquiring the bitterness of spirit, acrimony of feeling, narrow policy, and sordid views, which ever characterise the contests of men, striving, not for the promotion of the common good, but for the advancement of their own peculiar interests—and which must lead, inevitably, to the entire subjugation of the weaker party, or a dissolution of the Union ?

We know well, that the People of Virginia will never countenance any such distinction. Their generous sacrifices in the cause of their country, their uniform devotion to civil liberty, and their noble daring in the defence of freedom, from whatever quarter assailed, is the sure guarantee that they will not be slow to follow where the path of duty leads ; and on that guarantee we repose with confidence, that, in this hour of danger, sacrificing all minor considerations, they will go forth in their strength, and save the Temple of Liberty from pollution.

1. *Resolved*, That JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, of Massachusetts, be recommended to the People of the United States, as a fit person to be supported for the Office of President.

2. *Resolved*, That this Convention approve the nomination of RICHARD RUSH, of the State of Pennsylvania, for the Office of Vice President, made by the Convention at Harrisburg, and recommend him to the People of Virginia as a fit person to be supported for that office.

3. *Resolved*, That the President of this Convention be requested to transmit a copy of the proceedings and address of this Convention to each of the gentlemen who

have been nominated on the Electoral Ticket, and inform them of their several appointments.

4. *Resolved*, That the following persons be appointed a Central Corresponding Committee, with the authority to fill any vacancies which may occur within their own body, or in the Electoral Ticket in favor of the election of John Quincy Adams as President of the United States, and Richard Rush as Vice President, viz : Judge William H. Cabell, Judge Dabney Carr, Judge John Coalter, Mr. Robert Stanard, Reverend John Kerr, General J. B. Harvie, Mr. Peyton Randolph, Mr. John H. Pleasants, Mr. Charles Copland, Mr. Thomas Brockenbrough, Mr. E. W. Rootes, Mr. J. H. Eustace, Dr. Thomas Nelson.

5. *Resolved*, That the Corresponding Committees, which have been appointed by the meetings opposed to the election of General Jackson as President of the United States, in the various Counties and Corporations of this Commonwealth, constitute the Corresponding Committees of said Counties and Corporations, with authority to add to their numbers, and fill any vacancies which may occur in said Committees.

6. *Resolved*, That the Central Corresponding Committee be authorized to appoint corresponding committees in the several counties and corporations which have not appointed them ; which committees shall have authority to exercise the same powers as those which have heretofore been appointed.

7. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Convention that each member should pay the sum of five dollars to the Secretaries, to be deposited in the Bank of Virginia to the credit of the Chairman of the Central Committee, to defray the expenses of printing and circulating the documents directed to be published by the Convention, and such other publications as may be thought advisable by the said Central Committee, for the purpose of distribution among the citizens of the Commonwealth, and all other incidental charges.

8. *Resolved*, That at least thirty thousand copies of the proceedings and address of this Convention be printed and circulated, under the direction of the Central Committee, through the several counties and corporations of the Commonwealth.

9. *Resolved*, That the Central Corresponding Committee be requested to publish, in pamphlet form, as many copies of the address of the Hon. Henry Clay, with the accompanying documents, as they may deem expedient, and that they cause to be published such other documents as, in their opinion, will sustain the facts and principles set forth in the address of this Convention.

10. *Resolved*, That the Central Committee be requested to make to the officers of the Senate and House of Delegates who have attended upon this Convention during its session, such compensation as they may deem proper, to be paid out of the fund provided by this Convention.

11. *Resolved*, That this Convention entertain feelings of unfeigned gratitude for the facilities offered, and the spirit of accommodation manifested, by both Houses of the Virginia Assembly and their officers, to this Convention, in the prosecution of their duties, and that the President be requested to tender the thanks of this Convention to both branches of the Assembly and their officers, for their kindness and liberality.

12. *Resolved*, That the Editors of the several newspapers printed in Virginia be requested to publish the proceedings of the Convention, together with their address to the People of Virginia, in their respective papers.

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### ELECTORAL TICKET FOR VIRGINIA.—1828.

James Madison, *Orange County*,  
 James Monroe, *Loudoun*,  
 Stephen Wright, *Norfolk*,  
 Benjamin Harrison, *Charles City*,  
 Joseph Goodwyn, *Dinwiddie*,  
 Richard Field, *Brunswick*,  
 Edward C. Carrington, *Halifax*,  
 Benjamin Hatcher, *Manchester*,  
 Samuel Branch, *Buckingham*,  
 Fleming Saunders, *Franklin*,  
 David S. Garland, *Amherst*,  
 Chapman Johnson, *Richmond*,

Francis T. Brooke, *Spotsylvania*,  
 Charles Hill, *King and Queen*,  
 Robert Lively, *Elizabeth City*,  
 Hancock Eustace, *Stafford*,  
 Wm. A. G. Dade, *Prince William*,  
 Alfred H. Powell, *Frederick*,  
 James Mausee, *Rockingham*,  
 Archibald Stuart, *Augusta*,  
 Ballard Smith, *Greenbrier*,  
 Benjamin Estill, *Washington*,  
 Lewis Summers, *Kenawha*,  
 Alpheus B. Wilson, *Monongalia*.

*Effec*





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